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THE WORKS OF JEAN RENART, POET, AND THEIR RELATION TO GALE- RAN DE BRETAGNE. II.

The conviction that Jean Renart is the author of the three poems mentioned above springs from their correspondence of idea and purpose, the similarity of their versification, the close resemblance of some of their sentences, phrases and use of individual words. That is, the conviction rests on what might be termed positive testimony. Such testimony, however, might not be considered as wholly convincing. If any other kind of evidence is available it would be well to adduce it. In the case of Jean Renart this other evidence exists, negative evidence, to be sure, but of such a nature as to strengthen our faith in the positive. The poems of *Ombre*, *Escoufle* and *Guillaume de Dole* are strikingly like one another in essential particulars. But there are two poems which belong to the same kind of literature, are contemporaneous perhaps with Jean Renart's works, yet in one or more of these essential features are clearly unlike them. These poems are *Guillaume de Palerne* and *Galeran de Bretagne*.

Guillaume de Palerne has come down to us in a single manuscript. It is one of two poems contained in that manuscript. The other is the poem of *Escoufle*, which also is not preserved otherwise. Because of this close external union of two *romans d'aventure*, it was once supposed that they were the work of one author. A superficial examination, however, was sufficient to disprove this notion. A more careful scrutiny reveals their great dissimilarity. *Guillaume de Palerne* discourses on true love, its physical effects and its trials, quite after the manner of the older romantic school (1150-1180). It delights in monologs and formal speeches. It abounds in dialog. It uses that kind of repetition, by which the last hemistich of one couplet becomes the first hemistich of the next (ll. 1708, 1709 ; 6782, 6783), or by which both hemistiches are repeated in in-

verse order (ll. 5923, 5924). We have noted the subordination of the psychology of love to sociology in *Escoufle*. Its author is equally guiltless of the mannerisms of *Guillaume de Palerne*. Then over against the many allusions of *Escoufle* (and its fellows) to Medieval literature we can set but one reference in *Guillaume de Palerne*—an indefinite citation of Alexander's good sense. The versification of Renart's poems and *Guillaume de Palerne* is also quite unlike. For the 62 % of broken couplets in *Escoufle* and the 3.5 % of three-line sentences which follow the break, *Guillaume de Palerne* offers 28 % and 23 % respectively. In phrase and expression there is no resemblance at all between the two poems.

The negative argument derived from *Guillaume de Palerne* is clear. He who runs may read. Not so with *Galeran de Bretagne*. For here we have the idea of *Escoufle* and a part even of its plot : A girl, bereft of her lover, wanders away alone, reaches the house of a widow, is welcomed there, makes friends with the widow's daughter, and supports herself and her friend by her industry and accomplishments. This episode is a leading one in both poems. It does not appear in the *lai* of Marie de France, which *Galeran de Bretagne* closely imitates—the *lai* or its original—in other essential respects. There is some reason, therefore, for believing that this digression came to the author of *Galeran*, a certain Renaut, through the romance of *Escoufle*.

Why could we not suppose that the author of the two poems is one and the same man and that Renaut is a wrong reading for Renart? The thought and purpose of the romances are similar. Both contain abundant allusions to Medieval literature. Some words, as *siècle*, for instance, have the same peculiar meaning in both. Nor is their versification widely apart. *Galeran* offers 48 % of broken couplets and 11 % of three-line sentences following the break, as contrasted with *Escoufle's* 62 % (but also 58 % in *Guillaume de Dole*) and 3.5 % (also 7 % in *Guillaume de Dole*) respectively. *Galeran's* percentage of feminine

rimes is 48, compared with *Escoufle's* 45. The overflow verses in *Galeran* run as high as twenty-one in a thousand lines, or about the proportion that we found in *Ombre*. All these facts clearly point to the same school of poetic art, perhaps to the same period of that art's development, possibly even to the same poet.

But an intensive study of *Galeran de Bretagne* reveals important differences between it on the one hand and the works of Jean Renart on the other. *Galeran* lays especial weight on the love episodes, and makes them quite as prominent as its pictures of manners and society. In the treatment of its material it employs some of the leading characteristics of the older romantic school, particularly in its use of erotic monologs, where hero and heroine carry on mental debates with themselves, with questions and answers. One subtle notion of its author, the force of nature's voice in indicating relationships, is wholly lacking in Jean Renart. Furthermore, when we compare the part of the plot we have summarized with the same episodes in *Escoufle*, we are struck by the different ways of expressing the same idea. For example, both poems praise the piety of the heroine when thrown on her own resources, yet they are quite unlike in describing it :

Ja son vuel n'eüst esté preu
A sainte eglise por ouer.

Escoufle, 5504, 5505.

Ne se muet oncques de l'ostel
Fors quant elle va au moustier.

Galeran, 4303, 4304.

So the trades she exercises in self-support are the same, but they are defined in different terms, as :

A laver les chiés as haus homes. *Escoufle*, 5509.

Et des chiez laver pour maaille. *Galeran*, 3868.

Indeed, if we look to *Galeran* for the repetition of any phrase employed by Jean Renart, we find but one instance, and that instance in a passage which recalls, not the language of *Escoufle*, but of *Ombre* :

Il vos venroit mieus estre pris
As Turs et menés el Chaire!

Ombre, 242, 243.

Mieulx vous vauldroit estre outre mer
Et estre esclaves au Kahaire.

Galeran, 6383, 6384.

There remains, however, an interesting feature

of *Galeran* which reminds one of Jean Renart, a feature which is absent from *Escoufle* and *Ombre*, but which forms the chief characteristic of *Guillaume de Dole*. The heroine of *Galeran* is going to the wedding of her recreant lover, and as she rides she sings her sorrows :

Je vois as noces mon ami ;
Plus dolente de moi n'i va.

Galeran, 6987, 6988.

These lines rime with the verses on either side. They form the halves of two narrative couplets. Yet their burden, and the material fact that they occur elsewhere in a pastourelle,²⁰ show that here we have to do with a theme of popular poetry. And this is not the only place where the songs of the people seem to be echoed by the lines of *Galeran*.²¹

Now we know that the author of *Guillaume de Dole* lays formal claim (ll. 8-12) to a poetic invention by which the strophes of lyric poetry are mingled with narrative couplets. And, if we may believe him, *Guillaume de Dole* is the first poem to benefit by this invention. But what of the lyric strains in *Galeran*? An easy solution of the problem would be to admit Renart's claim, and date *Galeran* after *Guillaume de Dole*. Unfortunately, however, *Galeran* seems to offer the first draft of the idea, a draft which *Guillaume de Dole* has only improved upon. Another way of overcoming the difficulty would be to interpret Renart's words in a special sense, that *Guillaume de Dole* is the first poem in which lyric strophes are bodily introduced, not assimilated to the couplet, as in *Galeran*. Perhaps this explanation is the right one. It seems quite plausible. Still, whatever be the meaning we assign to the statement of Jean Renart, we cannot consider the fact to be other than significant that *Galeran de Bretagne*, after paralleling a leading episode of *Escoufle*, and using a phrase which, so far as we know, is peculiar to itself and *Ombre*, should proceed to approximate the distinguishing feature of *Guillaume de Dole*. A consideration of all these points taken together offers us three possible solutions : all four poems are the work of one man,

²⁰ Bartsch : *Altfranzösische Romanzen und Pastourelle*, p. 214, no. 100, ll. 11, 12.

²¹ See *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XIII, cols. 350, 351.

or the author of *Galeran* knew two, if not three, of the poems of Renart, or Renart was acquainted with Renaut's *Galeran*.

The first solution is hardly tenable. The poems of *Ombre*, *Escoufle* and *Guillaume de Dole* agree with one another in many ways, particularly in sentences, phrases and expressions. They resemble *Galeran* only in their general spirit and versification, while the minor and more intimate likenesses are lacking, excepting in the case of one isolated expression. We could not, therefore, feel justified in writing Renaut Renart. The absence of these essential correspondences militates against it.

The second choice offered avoids this fundamental objection but raises another. From the comparison of one of the episodes and the phrase already referred to, it might seem that Renaut was acquainted with *Escoufle* and *Ombre*. It is not probable that he knew *Guillaume de Dole*, because of the timid manner in which he risks his citation from folk poetry. The example which *Guillaume de Dole* sets in this respect should have made Renaut much bolder. Still, there is good ground for believing that he followed Jean Renart's first two poems, particularly as the digression from the story of Marie's *lai* might have been suggested by the success of *Escoufle*'s venture. But, as we have already said, the thought of *Galeran*, and some of its features of style, reveal a close connection with the sentiment and manner of the older romantic school. Now, *Escoufle* differs from that school in its accentuated tendency towards the description of customs and society and in its avoidance of amatory psychology. Judging, therefore, by the regular development of ideas in Medieval literature, *Galeran* is surely the earlier poem. This criterion, however, is not a reliable one, for in some quarters notions might still hold which had become obsolete in others.

The third choice offered is that Renart knew *Galeran de Bretagne* and was influenced by it in all three of his poems, an alternative which is preferable to the other, where Renaut is required to make excerpts from two works of the same author, one being of very slight significance. Against this more natural conclusion—that one poem was known to Renart rather than two (or three?) to Renaut—we set the unexplained

digression of *Galeran* from the plot of Marie's *lai*, and the statement of Renart in *Guillaume de Dole* that he has invented a new kind of composition in that poem. On the other hand, Renaut could have digressed from his model of his own accord, for the sake of variety, and from a desire not to be taken for a mere imitator. Also—and this is more convincing—the insertion of lyrics into *Guillaume de Dole* might have been suggested by their veiled introduction into *Galeran*. Their appearance as separate poems, which break up the continuity of the narrative couplets for the greater part, would thus have been prepared beforehand, and they would have found an audience already prejudiced to a certain extent in their favor. Our own opinion is that the arguments in favor of the priority of *Galeran* are somewhat stronger than the arguments against it. But, whatever an individual view may be, the facts seem to show a connection between *Galeran* on the one hand and *Escoufle* and *Ombre* on the other. These facts are not sufficient to justify a belief in the common authorship of the three poems, because they fail to include the vital characteristic of Jean Renart, which is the repetition of rimes, phrases and expressions. And it is this absence of proof of a common authorship, which furnishes us with the negative argument we have sought, and confirms our faith in the positive proofs of the literary solidarity of *Escoufle*, *Ombre* and *Guillaume de Dole*.

The date of *Galeran de Bretagne* has already been discussed in this journal.²² We are still inclined, after this more thorough study, to place it before the death of Arthur of Brittany (1203). Its ideas and manner would class it among the poems of transition, between the older group, which centered all its thought on the trials and rewards of true love, and the younger narratives of court life. *Galeran* still puts the love story first, but at the same time shows the growing fondness for the portrayal of contemporaneous manners. It would, therefore, follow *Guillaume de Palerne*, where the love story is predominant, and precede *Escoufle*, where the description of manners is emphasized. But leaving these particular comparisons aside, we know that poems of

²² Vol. xiii, col. 349.

divided interest do not appear before the last decade of the twelfth century. At the end of the century they are supplanted by the genuine tale of social customs or the narrative of adventure. Should *Galeran* be assigned to the years between 1192 and 1197, there is a strong probability that this time limit would include the date of its composition.

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HERODIAS THE WILD HUNTRESS IN THE LEGEND OF THE MIDDLE AGES. II.

In a pseudo-Augustinian treatise, *De fide et spe*, which dates back to the sixth century and is absolutely free from all influence of Germanic mythology, we find the legend of Diana, Herodias and Minerva the Wild Huntresses in a form almost identical with that in the Canon *Episcopi*. This offers a very strong argument against Jacob Grimm's theory that the legend of Herodias, the leader of the Furious Host, nay, all the horrible delusions of witchcraft which culminated in the "pious incineration" of hundred of thousands of wretched women have attained their full growth on the soil of Germanic mythology. The mythological conceptions of our forbears, as Grimm admits, know of no incarnate principle of Evil. This occasional remark of Jacob Grimm amounts to a complete refutation of his theory, for it is the personified principle of Evil, and nothing short of it, that is required in order to understand these dreadful delusions.

According to the ideas embodied in Germanic mythology, the practice of magic arts was no sin, no horrible transgression; nay, Wotan is praised as the source of all magic lore. No natural religion has ever reached the abstraction "absolute good" no more than "absolute Evil." Dissenting from Grimm's theory as to the origin of the Herodias legend, I, however, by no means intend to deny accretions from German mythology, particularly, that Herodias has traits in common with Holda or Bertha. This kind of syncretism rules supreme throughout the realm of mythology. It

is, for instance, a familiar fact that the Greeks and Romans obstinately insisted on identifying their own Gods with the Deities worshipped by the nations and tribes with whom they got in contact, or vice versa.

In the tenth century the wide spread attained by the Herodias legend is attested by Ratherius, bishop of Verona († 974), in his *Preloquia*. He gives expression to his deep indignation as follows: "What shall I say of those impious people who utterly forgetful of their immortal souls, do reverent homage to Herodiad, the murderess of Christ's precursor and Baptist, and acknowledge her as their sovereign, nay as their Goddess. In their lamentable dementia, they claim that the third part of the world is subject to her sovereignty. As if this was a fit reward for the murder of the prophet. It clearly appears that the demons have their hand in the matter, who by their hellish prestiges delude the unhappy women, and sometimes even men, who deserve more severe censure than the women."

The pious bishop very naturally sees in the Herodias an instrument sent forth from out the gates of hell to work the destruction of Christian souls. "The third part of the world" which popular fancy awarded to Herodias in the tenth century, admits of different interpretation. It is, however, clear that a spiritual kingdom is understood. Later on, we shall find this third part of the world defined as the unbaptized children and elves, gnomes, beings whom the people believed to be in possession of immortal souls and capable of salvation.

A very interesting testimony concerning our legend in the twelfth century is found in the second book of the *Polyeraticus* of John of Salisbury, bishop of Chartres († 1182). This learned and truly upright man was in many respects ahead of his time; but Jules Baissac who quotes the passage of the *Polyeraticus* on page 286 of his work, does, in my opinion, a very poor service to the bishop, by intimating that he was too much enlightened to believe in the reality of the Devil. Baissac seems entirely to forget that the combat against the infernal powers was by all ecclesiastic authorities considered the true object of the church. He has forgotten his own remark on page 48:

"Le diable n'est pas tout le christianisme,